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INTELLIGENCE REPORT**

COUNTRY Germany/Russian Zone

SUBJECT Change in Russian and SED Attitude
Toward Zonal Merger
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SUPPLEMENT

1. The SED Executive Committee was informed about 7 December that the Russians have decided to agree to union of the four zones. At the same time the SED was told to direct its own policies along this line. The SED was caught completely by surprise by this news. Ulbricht had just announced in Halle that the SED rejects "merger with hunger" (meaning the western zones). The SED papers in Berlin had been describing the bizonal merger as a deepening rift in the unity of Germany. On 5 December Pieck had said: "In the Russian Zone new economic forms have arisen, but it is wrong to believe that it is therefore isolated. These new forms are already appearing over a large area - in Bulgaria, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc. - and thus the Russian Zone is not isolated. The bizonal merger in the West completes the alliance of German bourgeoisie with foreign capital... Before zones can be merged a free democratic economy on a democratic basis must be achieved. Such is not the case in the West."
2. As a result of this changed attitude, Grotewohl has formulated the new SED line as follows:
 - (1) No more division between East and West.
 - (2) The SED is a party for all of Germany.
 - (3) The SED is the "heart of German destiny".
 - (4) The SED cannot continue to criticize every development in the western zones as reactionary.
 - (5) The SED must seek the support of progressive elements in the West and encourage them in turn.
 - (6) The SED must not demand everything be done the same way in the West as in the East. The main thing is that the power relationships must be changed. Methods and means are incidental.
 - (7) The SED must spread the conviction that without progressive measures in the West, the catastrophes and crises will never cease.

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CLASSIFICATION									
ADSO	x	A DEP.	x	FBT	SPDF	YTO			
DADSO		FBK		FEV	SPDS	B DEP.			
EXEC.		FBL		FBX	SPDT	CFCH			
CONTROL		FBM	x	FBZ	SCO	CTRS			
PLANS	x	FBP		SPDA	TRB				

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- (8) The SED must head toward a popular government; in the debate over the constitution it must emphasize the parliament and its prerogatives and the division of power.
 - (9) The SED must make all western German problems its own. The SED paper Neues Deutschland must cease to be an eastern paper.
 - (10) The people must agree to a constitution by a plebiscite.
3. In his remarks Grotewohl stated that the SED has 1,600,000 members. Within the next six months it will have 160,000 to 180,000 well-trained functionaries equipped with Marxist indoctrination by its various schools. The members of no other party are so progressive and so dependable. Nevertheless, for years the SED will have a hard struggle for existence. It must reawaken class-consciousness among the working class and, finally, defeat the bourgeoisie to prevent the bourgeoisie from defeating the working class.
4. Regarding the situation of the SED, the same source reports that at a conference on 5 December Wilhelm Pieck said: "We are able to fulfill the grain deliveries to the West only because we force the farmers to deliver all their produce...We would have had the same conditions here as in the West if we had not taken certain measures of democratization and if the farmers had not shown a social attitude unique in history. The farmer is by nature egocentric but our farmers delivered their total crop. We do not have to mention the methods we used. We must realize, however, what a difficult situation it has created for our party in the villages. Tens of thousands are filled with rage and hate not only against the Russians but against us."

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